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Chapter 2: The Classical Guitar in the Early Period of Recording: Spain

INTRODUCTION: EVALUATING THE EARLY PERIOD OF CLASSICAL GUITAR RECORDING

Research into early recorded classical guitar music has been scarce until relatively recently. This has largely been due to the inaccessibility of early recordings, many of which have either lain undiscovered in library archives or undetectable in private collections. We are fortunate, however, in that certain individuals have over the decades shown great generosity in making their archives available to researchers. For example, the Brazilian guitarist and scholar Ronoel Simões (1919–2010) in the 1970s provided access to recorded material that enabled scholarship to develop around the music of the Paraguayan guitarist-composer Agustín Barrios Mangoré (Stover 1984).[1] The re-emergence of Barrios' 78 rpm recordings, which were among the earliest to be made by any classical guitarist, played a vital role in re-establishing his reputation within the mainstream of the classical guitar repertoire, as well as facilitating the scholarly analysis of his music.[2] Another important event was the re-issue in 1980 of the complete recordings made by Segovia for HMV between 1927–39, which made it possible for the first time to fully appreciate the trajectory of his development as a recording artist prior to his arrival at American Decca in 1944.

More recently, digital remastering projects – whether undertaken for the purposes of creating online repositories of sound recordings[3] or commercial re-packaging for the burgeoning "historical recordings" marketplace – have played a significant role in bringing older recordings to light. Today we are fortunate in that a number of record companies, including Doremi, IDIS, Testament, FFSI, Chanterelle and Naxos, have undertaken to re-issue many early recordings with the result that a somewhat more panoramic picture has begun to emerge of classical guitar recording activity in the early part of the twentieth century. For example, at the time of writing the *Segovia and His Contemporaries* collection issued by the Doremi label, extends to some 12 compact discs, surveying a broad range of recorded guitar music released over a considerable span of years by contemporaries of Segovia. The earliest recording (on Volume 12) dates from c.1897–1901 and was made by Simon Ramirez in Madrid while the latest were made in the mid-1950s, including important early albums by José Rey de la Torre and material from Segovia's early American Decca period. The particular importance of this, and similar projects, is that they have afforded a unique opportunity to evaluate the recording careers of many important but often overlooked guitarists directly in relation to one another, enabling in the words of Doremi series curator, Jack Silver, the restoration of "a sense of the dimensions of the world of the classical guitar as it developed earlier in the twentieth century" (Silver 1998). Patterns of development can now be observed which would not necessarily have been obvious to artists, record labels or audiences at the time these recordings were made, which when correlated with the accrued critical literature concerning their reception, enable a particularly rich picture of the evolving identity of the classical guitar to emerge.

THE TECHNOLOGICAL CONDITIONS OF EARLY RECORDING

Before considering the early recorded classical guitar per se it is important to establish some context regarding the evolution of recording practice at the beginning of the twentieth century. The guitar (here meaning the instrument in general terms, across multiple musical contexts) was an instrument whose fortunes within the context of the emerging recording industry were very much determined by the evolution of technology and the possibilities this provided for capturing its sound effectively. From the late 1880s through to the adoption of the microphone in 1925, recording was subject to the restrictions of pre-electrical, or "acoustic" process using the phonograph. This involved the capture of sound by funnelling it, via a recording horn, towards a diaphragm, which in turn vibrated a stylus that etched the sound wave onto a rotating wax cylinder or disc. An instrument's capacity to record successfully in this context depended upon two things. Firstly, the instrument's amplitude – or loudness – which was a key factor in determining whether a sound would be recorded at an audible level. Secondly, its timbre, meaning the particular elements of the instrument's frequency content that were required to be accurately preserved in order for it to be recognizable. The latter was a significant issue given that the acoustic recording process captured a relatively small range of frequencies, which at first did not extend

much below 168 Hz or much above 2000 Hz (Gelatt 1977). Given such prerequisites, recording was undertaken by technicians or "recordists" who were expert in setting up equipment and coaching musicians to achieve the best results. These were, in effect, the first recording engineers and producers, among the most well-known of whom were Fred Gaisberg (of the Gramophone Company) and Harry and Raymond Sooy (Victor), who not only oversaw the recording process but, in their capacity as A & R men, also actively sourced musicians who were suitable to be marketed in recorded form – or to put it another way, musicians whose sound would translate well to disc. For example, vocal music tended to record very satisfactorily and hence opera singers such as Enrico Caruso, Francesco Tamagno, Nellie Melba and Adelina Patti dominated early classical record catalogues, effectively becoming the first classical stars of recording.

The problem of faithfully representing instruments in early sound recordings initially dissuaded many classical musicians from recording. For example, the piano, which recorded satisfactorily in an accompaniment role, once under the spotlight in solo repertoire was found wanting. Reflecting on early attempts to make piano records, concert pianist Mark Hambourg noted that "it seemed hopeless to succeed in producing anything of the nature of pianoforte tone" which "reproduced on the gramophone sounded like the tinkling of a very inferior banjo or guitar. There was apparently no way of getting the round, mellow softness, or the deep pulsating loudness of the modern pianoforte tone" (1923: 4). Similarly, Sergei Rachmaninoff (1931: 525), recalling sessions he had undertaken for Edison Records in 1919, commented that the piano "came out with a thin, tinkling tone" which "sounded exactly like the Russian balalaika" (there is of course a certain irony here in that both pianists are comparing the inferior quality of acoustically recorded piano timbre to the sound of plucked string instruments!) The difficulties of capturing a wide dynamic range also meant that there was little scope for a nuanced performance and some pianists who recorded frequently ultimately cultivated an approach to dynamics that was reflected (undesirably) in their live performances. This was the basis of Gerald Moore's (1983: 52) criticism of the pianist Ignace Jan Paderewski in live performance, who concluded "that he felt impelled to maintain a consistently penetrating *forte* to register on the soft wax of the old recording process".

Another constraint faced by early recording engineers concerned the limited technical possibilities for shaping the character of the recorded sound. As there was no means whatsoever of amending a recorded sound post-capture, the key to achieving a satisfactory result lay in the careful physical placement of sound sources (i.e. the musicians) in relation to the recording horn beforehand to achieve the best levels and balance. This was by no means a simple task, however, as different instruments, with their varying timbres and loudness, required different placement strategies, leading to some rather unconventional performance scenarios. For example, it was typical to find pianos raised up on platforms to get them closer to the height of the recording horn and have their front and back panels removed (Batten 1956: 32–33). In some cases instruments were modified in order to make them more able to project – for example the so-called Stroh violin (invented by Johann Matthias Augustus Stroh) was developed specifically to amplify the violin so that it could be recorded effectively in a solo context.[4]

The circumstances of recording were also problematic in other ways for performers. In the early period there was no possibility for the mass reproduction of a recording hence it was common to find several phonographs being used simultaneously to record a single performance, or alternatively (and more commonly) a performer would repeat a performance over and over again for many hours so that multiple (slightly differing copies) were produced. These unique circumstances naturally bred a particular type of studio recording musician who was not only adept at projecting their sound in a way that enabled it to be captured effectively, but also seasoned in terms of the drudgery of repetitive performance over long time periods (Hoffmann et al. 2000). Finally there was the problem of the restricted side length of the typical 78 rpm disc, which had particular consequences for both the production of musical recordings by the performer and their eventual experience on the part of the listener. Typically a 10-inch 78 rpm disc held about three minutes of music per side, while the 12-inch held slightly more at around four minutes per side (Read and Welch 1976; Gelatt 1977; Copeland 1991). This meant that short pieces were more conveniently recorded (such as songs or brief classical music movements) but if longer pieces were chosen it was necessary to either abridge them or break them up into sections. With the advent of the microphone in 1925 and the resultant improved potential for sound capture, larger orchestral works began to be more frequently recorded, but typically had their individual movements split across several discs. This was an inconvenience that became the norm for the experience of recorded classical music until the introduction of the LP in 1948.

RECORDING PLUCKED STRING INSTRUMENTS

As has been noted, the limited frequency range that could be captured by early recording technology combined with the need for a consistently large amplitude in order to engrave sound waves that were actually audible, meant that recordists tended to favor certain instruments more than others. In the category of plucked string instruments, the most widely recorded instrument during the acoustic era was the banjo, whose loud "twang" could be easily perceived on recordings. As Linn (1994: 85–6) comments "acoustic recording equipment responded well to the banjo's frequency range, and the percussive sound of the instrument recorded very well", naturally making it popular with early record labels who wished to build up their catalogues. In their discussion of popular music recording during this period, Gracyk and Hoffmann (2000: 263–4) observe that, "since no instrument recorded better than the banjo in the early decades of the industry" this was "a propitious time for being a master banjoist". Among the large number of banjoists recording from the late 1880s onwards were Will Lyle (Edison), Parke Hunter (Columbia), Cullen and Collins (Columbia) and Fred Van Eps (Edison). Probably the most famous banjoist of the early recording era was Vess L. Ossman (1868–1923), who became internationally known through his recordings for the Victor Talking Machine Company, with whom he maintained a long-term association.[5] Another plucked string instrument whose loudness and penetrative timbral qualities were easily picked up by the recording horn was the mandolin. Ossman's equivalent in this context was Samuel Siegel (1875–1948) who made numerous cylinder recordings for Edison and Columbia in the early 1900s and was the first mandolinist to record on Berliner phonograph discs (Sparks 1995: 123–25). Significantly Siegel also made several recordings in duet with the harp guitarist Roy Butin (1877–1943) around 1908–9, which are of particular interest on account of the guitar's more active soloistic role beyond simple accompaniment styles.[6]

There is plenty of audio evidence to show that the guitar appeared frequently on recordings from the early twentieth century onwards, and in a variety of musical contexts. Solo guitar music was certainly recorded although, at least as far as the quieter gut strung classical instrument was concerned, this did not become more commonplace until after the introduction of electrical recording in 1925. The chief issue for guitarists was the instrument's much smaller dynamic range which was not necessarily problematic for recording provided that the instrument was not being played in a dynamically nuanced manner. This was a factor which obviously depended upon the musical context in which the guitar was being employed. For example, guitar parts that functioned "percussively", emphasizing repetitive strummed or picked patterns which were sustained at a persistent volume level, translated better in recordings because their attack could be clearly discerned. It is for this reason that the most successful guitar recordings of the early period feature the instrument in its traditional "popular" accompaniment role, supporting the voice and other lead instruments, or as part of the texture of larger ensembles. Thus the guitar is heard to good effect in the many Spanish flamenco recordings that were made in Barcelona and Madrid during the early 1900s, while in Mexico it is well represented in recordings of bandurria groups and mariachi bands.[7] From around 1909 Hawaiian steel guitarists, beginning with Joseph Kekuku (1874–1932) and Walter Kolomoku (1889–1930), began to be featured frequently in recordings, ushering in an international fad for Hawaiian music that lasted until well into the 1920s. The basic Hawaiian line-up typically comprised a strummed guitar part, which usually hammered out a waltz rhythm, accompanying the characteristic slide lead. Like banjoists, Hawaiian guitarists were among the first to capitalize on the possibilities of recordings for career promotion, most notably Frank Ferera (1885–1951), who became one of the first guitar stars of the recording era in duet with his wife, Helen Louise.

Occasional accounts by guitarists of their experiences in the studio prior to the electrical era provide some insight into the how the typical steel-strung instrument was regarded by recordists. Plectrum guitarist pioneer Nick Lucas (1897–1982), for example, has described a recording session in the early 1920s, towards the end of the acoustic era (Sallis 1996), in which he first experimented with an acoustic guitar. At this time Lucas typically used a banjo in recording sessions (the occasion here was a band performance) because the "guitar was unheard-of" in this context. Ironically, however, on this particular occasion the banjo's loud and penetrating tone was proving to be too much for the stylus that was being used to cut the wax and the guitar's smaller dynamic range now appeared to be an advantage. When Lucas suggested to his producer Sam Lanin that the guitar might be used as an alternative to the banjo,

> He told me they wouldn't hear it from where I was [at the back of the room] and put me right under the horn. […] The rhythm was smoother, and we didn't have any trouble with the needle jumping

> out of the grooves. So he said "Hey Nick, that's all right! Keep it in." That was the beginning of me playing guitar on record dates.
> I would say that was around 1921.
>
> (Sallis 1996: 15)

Lucas went on to achieve great fame as an exponent of plectrum style steel-string guitar during the 1920s and 1930s, and crafted a number of self-contained instrumentals. The most celebrated of these – "Teasin' the frets" and "Pickin' the Guitar" – were recorded prior to the electrical process for the Pathé Phonograph Company in 1922.[8] Their titles, which draw attention to the guitar as the focus of the artist's performance, underline the increasing recognition of the guitar as a solo instrument in the popular music sphere. Lucas notes that on these sessions, "all I had in the studio were the musical director and the technicians – nobody else". It is also interesting to note that Lucas usually performed standing up with his guitar on a strap which would no doubt have afforded him considerable flexibility in experimenting with his playing position in relation to the recording horn.

Where the gut-strung classical guitar was concerned the limited capacity of early recording technology to represent the instrument effectively was more problematic, primarily due to the particular nature of classical guitar music and its mode of execution. For example, classical guitar music at this time had been evolving in relation to the musical aesthetics of the Romantic period (derived from the piano literature in particular), and was characterized by strong dynamic contrasts, sophisticated harmony and a varied tonal palette. On the classical guitar these musical values were communicated through the exploitation of the instrument's unique capacity for tonal variety, determined by a range of factors including the timbral character of the different strings, the position of the left hand on the fretboard, techniques such as vibrato and the infinite variety of transients produced when sounding the strings with the right hand fingers. However, these various qualities had to be conveyed within the constraints of the guitar's own "relative" dynamic range, as summarized by classical guitarist Charles Duncan (1977: 27):

> The difference between a subdued mezzo-forte and the maximum useful intensity is simply not that great on the guitar. But on the other hand, small – very small – increases or decreases in intensity are quite perceptible because they are heard relative to the possible dynamic range of the instrument.

Obviously, the successful communication of any music containing wide variations in dynamics and tone color depended upon the guitar being heard in an acoustic context in which full relative dynamic range of the instrument was audible. Without this the music's subtleties would be lost on a listener. This was a particular problem in larger acoustic spaces where the sound of instrument naturally dissipated at larger distances, a factor which lay behind the resistance of some of the most acclaimed guitarists of the period to performing in larger auditoria, such as Miguel Llobet whose thoughts on the matter are quoted in Segovia's autobiography: "concert halls are too large, and the guitar doesn't have the power to carry from the stage to the entire hall. The audience has to strain itself to hear us, listeners become impatient" (1976: 102–103).

The problem of the inaudibility of minute gradations of loudness and softness on the guitar also had implications for recording practice, particularly during the early acoustic period when the limited capacity to capture soft sounds would have been a noticeable issue. The American guitarist Vahdah Olcott-Bickford, relates an account given by Llobet of an early recording session he undertook for Bell Lab while touring in the United States sometime between 1912 and 1917:

> He [Llobet] tried to make a recording at the Bell Lab in Brunswick, New Jersey, but was dissatisfied with the sound … acoustical recording was good for steel strung instruments like the banjo and mandolin, but the classical guitar with its gut strings was more difficult to record. The guitarist must be very close to the recording horn and must play loudly.
>
> (Purcell 2008)

It is likely that Llobet was playing his Torres guitar in these sessions (Romanillos 1997), which possessed a dramatically improved capacity for projection compared to its early nineteenth-century predecessors. However, it is clear from this account that the problem of the guitar's relative dynamic range still precluded the successful capture of its sound using acoustic recording technology and only with undue exaggeration could the sound be registered. Improvements in the resonance of modern

classical guitars, while significant for concert performance in larger venues (as per Segovia's campaign), only began to become recognized as an asset for recording once the microphone had proven that it could capture the instrument's dynamic range and timbral nuances more accurately. Furthermore, one can imagine that the environments in which recordings were made in the early period – namely small ad hoc studio set-ups as opposed to acoustically satisfying auditoria – would also have been off-putting. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, guitarists from at least the time of Aguado have regarded resonant acoustics as a fundamental ingredient in the articulation of their performances and the lack of these during a recording situation would undoubtedly have had consequences for their ability to perform comfortably in front of the microphone.

EARLY CLASSICAL GUITAR RECORDING IN SPAIN, 1897–1936

Having given an outline of the general circumstances of recording in the early twentieth century, the remainder of this chapter considers the emergence of the classical guitar as the subject of recording activity in Spain, providing important context for Chapter 3's discussion of the early career of Andrés Segovia, whose recording activities reconstructed the Spanish identity of the classical guitar in a wider global context. The Spanish recording industry can be seen to have begun with the arrival of the first Edison phonographs in Spain during the 1880s, which were initially toured and demonstrated as objects of curiosity. By the late 1890s the phonograph had reached a peak of development that made it practical as a domestic appliance for the playback of recorded music, necessitating the production of consumable recordings specific to the needs of Spanish audiences. In response, numerous *gabinetes fonográficos* (phonography studios) began to appear in various cities across Spain between approximately 1898 and 1905 (Moreda Rodríguez 2017a, 2017b). As was typical during the early recording period such establishments sold imported phonographs and other equipment while offering cylinder recording services in makeshift studios as a means of arousing interest in purchasing their products. Among the most important and prolific of these companies were Álvaro Ureña and Viuda de Aramburo (Madrid), V. Corrons e Hijo (Barcelona), Hijos de Blas Cuesta and Puerto y Novella (in Valencia) and Viuda de Ablanedo (Bilbao).[9] In addressing the marketplace the recording catalogues of the *gabinetes fonográficos* naturally focused on musical forms popular in Spain at the time – namely, opera, zarzuelas and, most importantly where the guitar was concerned, flamenco.

By the early years of the twentieth century this indigenous Spanish recording industry had begun to be supplanted by the activities of foreign record labels, a development that coincided with the demise of the cylinder and its replacement by disc technology. The French arm of the Gramophone Company (Compañía Francesa del Gramófono), for example, was present in Barcelona from around 1903, together with the International Zonophone Company which between 1905 and 1910 produced an important early catalogue of single-sided discs of flamenco music (Blas Vega 1995). Between 1904 and 1912 the International Talking Machine Company also made many recordings of flamenco music which were issued under the Odeon name, a company which it owned for a brief prior to its acquisition by Lindström. Both Odeon and the Compañía Gramófono, using the "La Voz de su Amo" ("His Master's Voice") mark, were predominant in the early Spanish recording industry until the arrival of the New York Columbia Graphophone Company in the 1920s which began operating in Donostia/ San Sebastián (in the Basque region) and issued its recordings in Spain under the Regal label. Other recording companies whose presence also began to be felt in Spain during this decade were the German-owned Polydor and Parlophon interests. Parlophon became a major force in the European recording industry during the 1930s, along with its partner company Odeon, both of which after 1911 were owned by the Carl Lindström Company (Gelatt 1977).

Given that Spain already possessed a well-established tradition of guitar performance within its flamenco culture, and that flamenco music was of great interest to the many recording companies active in the country during the early period, it is natural that flamenco should be the vehicle by which the guitar was first widely recorded in both a solo and ensemble context. In effect, flamenco guitarists, whose names are well-documented from the earliest wax cylinders onwards, were the first high-profile guitar recording artists in Spain. For example, the records of El Mochuelo, the stage name for the singer Antonio Pozo (1868–1937), have preserved for posterity the playing of Manuel López (fl. 1884). Early cylinders of López accompanying El Mochuelo are extant in the Biblioteca Digital Hispánica archive, such as "Aires montañeses" and "Granadinas", which were recorded around 1900 by the Fono-Reyna (Sociedad Anónima Fonográfica) company in Madrid. These capture in a surprisingly vivid manner the powerful rhythmic character of López's playing and illustrate the eminent suitability of the flamenco

idiom for guitar recording. López also made further discbased recordings with El Mochuelo on the Pathé label in the late 1920s.

Another of El Mochuelo's guitarists, Miguel Borrull Castelló (1866–1947), is documented as both an accompanist and solo performer. Like López his earliest recordings were undertaken on cylinders, such as "Granaínas", made by the Viuda de Aramburo company sometime between 1898 and 1900 in Madrid. He also recorded with other important flamenco artists of the era, such as Cojo de Málaga (1880–1940), for the Pathé company, as can be heard on "Los verdiales/Solerares", a double-sided disc made around 1917. Significantly, accounts of the period suggest that Borrull was, during his time in Barcelona, closely associated with Francisco Tárrega. He apparently studied and absorbed Tárrega's techniques (Altamira 2017: 436; Prat 1934), and according to Prat (1934: 62), performed a number of Tárrega's works in public. Borrull's son, known as Miguel Borrull Jiménez (1899–1974) appears to have inherited these leanings. He made a number of solo flamenco recordings for the Compañía del Gramófono, including "Guajiras"/ "Motivos por Granadinas" (AE 1992) and "Danza Gitana"/ "Soleares con Rosa" (AE 1981).[10] One of these – disc AE 2006 (made around 1928) – is of particular interest where the classical guitar is concerned because it contains a recording of a Tárrega piece, *Adelita*, today a well-established entry-level repertoire piece for the instrument. Significantly the other side of the same disc also contains a performance, in a very free and improvisatory manner, of an arrangement of the piano piece *Granada* by Albéniz, one of a number of works by Albéniz that was commonly performed in transcription by classical guitarists and associated with the evolving guitar repertoire at this time. The July 1930 Compañía del Gramófono catalogue also refers to another flamenco-based artist, Antonio Hernández, a guitarist and bandurria player who was regarded in his day as an equal to Segovia (Altamira 2017). While his recordings are for the most part situated within the flamenco idiom, Hernández also composed original music, becoming particularly well known for his evocative programmatic piece, *Semana Santa en Sevilla*, which he recorded in 1927 for the Compañía del Gramófono on disc AE 2121.[11] This is an interesting multi-section composition that showcases a range of guitar textures and techniques and contains imitations of fanfares and snare drums (reminiscent of Agustín Barrios' *Diana Guaraní*). For the most part, however, flamenco guitarists' explorations of non- flamenco forms on their recordings are infrequent. For example, one of the most famous flamenco guitarists of the period, Ramón Montoya (1879– 1949)[12] made a number of solo guitar recordings for the Compañía del Gramófono during the 1920s which are focused firmly within the flamenco tradition.

In recent years cylinders have come to light which suggest that the first solo guitar recordings recognizable as "classical" guitar music were being made in Spain during the 1890s. In particular a recent CD, *Tárrega, His Disciples and Their Students*, issued in 2013 as Vol. 12 of the Doremi *Segovia and his Contemporaries* series, has drawn attention to a brown wax cylinder recording made by a certain Simon Ramirez sometime between 1897 and 1900. The cylinder features a piece recognizable as *Romance de Amor*, a well-known repertoire number which has long been a staple of the beginner repertoire. This recording is of particular interest because it predates versions of the piece that were popularized in the mid-twentieth century by classical guitarists in the context of film soundtracks – namely Vicente Gómez in the film *Blood and Sand* and Narciso Yepes in the film *Jeux Interdits*.[13] The recording's existence confirms that the piece is clearly older than was originally thought, perhaps even being attributable to the early nineteenth-century composer, Fernando Sor. This particular cylinder was produced by the Viuda de Aramburo Company in Madrid, one of the most important of the aforementioned pioneering *gabinetes fonográficos* in existence at this time. Interestingly further cylinders of recordings by Simon Ramirez have also emerged in the John Levin collection digitized by UCSB, including a number of duets performed with a family member, referred to as Luis.[14] It is not apparent that any of these recordings have a commercial objective nor are they meant to be promoting performed classical guitar music per se – rather they are documents of informal music making with guitars that have been inadvertently preserved for posterity.

Of greater significance where the modern classical guitar repertoire is concerned is a recording (re-issued on the above-mentioned Doremi CD), which is alleged to have been made by Francisco Tárrega in Granada, either in 1899 or 1908 of one of his own pieces, *Maria – Gavota*. While the recording is not complete, due to parts of the cylinder having degraded, it nonetheless gives some sense of Tárrega's way of playing one of his own works. There may be other extant recordings by Tárrega, which would enable a fuller picture to emerge of his recording activity during his period, but until they emerge this fragmentary document remains a historical curiosity. However, the recordings made by two of Tárrega's most important pupils in the 1920s and 1930s – Miguel Llobet and Daniel Fortea – functioned to transmit the essence of his performance ideals and interpretative approach.

THE RECORDINGS OF MIGUEL LLOBET

The recordings made by Miguel Llobet (1878–1938) for the Parlophon and Odeon labels in the mid to late 1920s are of particular significance where the emerging identity of the recorded classical guitar is concerned. They provide insight into the role of the recording situation in determining the focus of a concertizing classical guitarist on repertoire choices, as well as the recorded medium's effect on the guitarist's approach to performing. In addition they function in a documentary manner, affording valuable insights into guitar performance styles of the late nineteenth century and the manner of exploitation of the guitar's timbral resources. While Llobet did not make a large number of recordings he nonetheless demonstrated a commitment to the recording process sufficient for him to qualify as a pioneer of classical guitar recording at this time.

Llobet is a particularly significant figure in the history of the early twentieth-century classical guitar for two reasons. Firstly he was one of Tárrega's most outstanding pupils, achieving acclaim as both a concert artist and an accomplished composer and arranger for the guitar. He continued the Tárrega tradition of transcribing works from the nineteenth-century piano repertoire, supplementing these with his own original contributions and arrangements that further developed the coloristic approach to guitar timbre that had emerged in Tárrega's own work. Llobet's affiliation with the Tárrega tradition is prioritized in Parlophon's marketing literature for Llobet's recordings during this period. The *Parlophon Electric Suplemento No. 2* of April 1929, which announced record numbers B25766 and B25767 (two Sor pieces and two Catalan folk song arrangements) contains a short artist profile of Llobet. Here the writer emphasizes in effusive language Llobet's precocity and natural virtuosity and also makes much of the link between Llobet and the Tárrega tradition of guitar playing, concluding that "Llobet con su arte, propaga en el mundo entero la nueva técnica de la guitarra descubierta por el inolvidable Tárrega" ("With his art, Llobet transmits to the entire world the new guitar technique discovered by the never-to-be forgotten Tárrega"). Llobet's importance as a proselytizer on behalf of the Tárrega school of guitar performance, arrangement and composition, makes his recordings particularly significant because, as Ronald Purcell (1989) has observed, they can be used to extrapolate ideas regarding Tárrega's own stylistic approach. Furthermore, it is worth adding that Llobet was also Segovia's primary link to the Tárrega school (Segovia met Llobet around 1915) and played an important role in shaping his own view of guitar performance style, repertoire and interpretation as can be discerned in his 1950s American Decca recordings. Llobet's influence can also be felt in the mid-twentieth century recordings of three of his pupils who came to prominence in the 1930s and 1940s, Maria Luisa Anido, Luise Walker and José Rey de la Torre.

Secondly on account of his extensive global concertizing Llobet can be seen as one of the most significant international emissaries of the modern classical guitar prior to the ascent of Segovia. In 1905 he re-located from Spain to Paris from where he conducted tours across Europe and Great Britain and by 1910 had established himself in Argentina (Buenos Aires), where he conducted tours of Brazil, Central America and the Caribbean. He also made appearances in the United States (beginning with a recital in Philadelphia in 1912) which played an important role in establishing the idea of the classical guitar concert in North America, thereby paving the way for Segovia in the 1930s. There is no doubt that it was his high profile as an international concert artist that attracted the interest of recording companies, for whom he recorded on two occasions – the first took place either in Barcelona (or according to Purcell (2008), possibly France) around 1925 and the second in Buenos Aires towards the end of the decade around 1929.

Taken as a whole Llobet's recordings can be seen as offering a unique snapshot of the emerging classical guitar repertoire of the time. As one would expect the pieces played here reflect the content of Llobet's concert programs and were perhaps chosen because they had elicited the greatest audience approval. For example, Llobet chose to record nineteenth-century works by Fernando Sor, including the Andantino (Op. 2 No. 3), Minuetto (Op. 11 No. 12), the famous Study in B minor (Op. 35 No. 22), as well as Napoleon Coste's showpiece, Studio Brillante. He also recorded one work by Bach (the Sarabande from Violin Partita No. 1, BW1002), indicating the importance of the composer within his repertoire, and more broadly highlighting the increasing significance of Bach within the context of guitar performance. It is interesting to note, however, that unlike Fortea and other Spanish contemporaries, Llobet did not record original pieces by his teacher Tárrega. Certain repertoire choices can also be seen as reflecting the more cosmopolitan perspective that Llobet had obtained in the light of his travels and constitute the contemporary focus of his recordings. For example he made four recordings of arrangements of music by Latin American composers – specifically two pieces from Mexican composer Manuel M. Ponce's Tres Canciones Populares Mexicanas (arranged by Segovia), and two pieces by Argentinian composers, "Estilo Popular Criollo", a working of a popular song by

Pedro M. Quijano, and an arrangement for guitar duet of *Huella*, a well-known nationalist composition by Julián Aguirre (1868–1924). The latter, recorded in 1929, is one of four sides Llobet made with the young Argentinian guitarist, Maria Luisa Anido (see Chapter 4), constituting one of the earliest classical guitar duo recordings. Llobet also chose to record four of his well-known Catalonian folk song arrangements (*El Testament d'Amèlia*, *La Filla del Marxant*, *Plany* and *El Mestre*). These are highly individual harmonizations of the original folk melodies and their particular exploitation of the guitar's resources is unique to Llobet's own individual conception of the guitar. Interestingly these arrangements have provoked much discussion and debate as to whether they can be regarded as original Llobet compositions (see Rey de la Torre 1985; Wade and Garno 1997b). Certainly their originality relative to the guitar repertoire as it stood at the time was immediately apparent to Llobet's contemporaries. For example, in 1925 Emilio Pujol remarked that *El Mestre* marked a "point of departure towards new territories, containing within itself the seeds of later coloristic effects on the instrument", awakening the guitar to a "new aesthetic" of "colour and polyphony" (Jones 1998).[15] It is not unreasonable to suggest that Llobet's sense of the importance of these pieces to the guitar canon prompted him to record them in an act of self-publicization. In doing so he provided an important document of his intended manner of articulating their unique sonic and harmonic characteristics on the guitar which constituted a valuable adjunct to the score editions.

The significance of Llobet's recordings as evidence of nineteenth- century classical guitar performance style more generally remains the subject of an ongoing discussion. In 1983 the early music specialist Robert Spencer presented a program in the BBC's *Music for Guitar* series which was devoted exclusively to the early Llobet discs (this was probably the first broadcast of Llobet's recordings given that they had only recently been issued in remastered form in 1982).[16] Drawing attention to Llobet's proximity to the early nineteenth-century school (he was born in 1878), Spencer noted that "Llobet inherited the playing tradition of the Romantic era, thus his style as preserved for us in these recordings may well reflect Sor's own way of playing his compositions". In reference to Llobet's recording of Sor's well known Study in B minor, he observes that "surprisingly he uses an *inégal* rhythm which today we reserve for seventeenth and eighteenth century music only" and that "Llobet's playing suggests that we could also apply it to the music of the nineteenth century". Spencer also drew attention to the "fluid Romantic style less in vogue today" which is most noticeable in Llobet's performances of his two recorded Catalan ~~folksong~~ arrangements, as well as his adherence to the mission of the Tárrega school in his focus on transcriptions of works of composers such as Mendelssohn, Albéniz and Aguirre rather than his own original compositions. Also, in addition to their value as a reference point for the evolution of classical guitar performance and compositional aesthetics, the Llobet discs serve as a valuable document of the sound of the nineteenth-century Torres guitar. The luthier José Romanillos, an acknowledged expert on the subject, observes (1997: 206–207) that "it is known that Llobet used his 1859 Torres" on these recordings, a fact which he suggests is corroborated by Llobet's pupil and duetting partner on the 1929 discs, Maria Luisa Anido. According to Romanillos, this particular Torres guitar had a *tornavoz* and that on Llobet's recordings "there is an indication in the texture of the sound suggesting a certain reverberation of the *tornavoz* which colors the sound quality".[17]

Llobet's early recordings were famously "reviewed" by Segovia in his autobiography in the following terms: "It is a shame that echoes of his great talent were not faithfully recorded. What records he was persuaded to make are worthless and should be destroyed as an act of respect for him and his memory" (Segovia 1976: 101–2). It is not clear from these comments whether Segovia is referring to the sound quality of the discs or the character of the performances themselves. In any case these remarks should be understood in the context of a general appraisal by Segovia of Llobet in his autobiography which is by turns complimentary and derogatory, as suited the needs of the Segovia narrative. It is certainly apparent on listening to the Llobet recordings that they refute the assertion put forward by Segovia (1976: 101) that Llobet's "tone was rasping and metallic, lacking in roundness, volume and resilience" and that he "tore grating sounds from the strings with his fingernails".[18] Instead they show a precise and virtuosic technique (particularly in the rapidly executed Coste Estudio), a distinctiveness of tone and sensitivity to the guitar's timbral resources (in the harmonic passages of *El Testament d'Amèlia* for example). While there is at times an exaggerated quality to Llobet's playing this probably reflected his concern to project his sound adequately for the microphone, a habit perhaps acquired from his previously unsuccessful experiences with acoustic recording.

SPANISH GUITARISTS ON THE REGAL LABEL

During the 1920s and 1930s the Regal label, through its association with the Columbia Phonograph Company, was able to make a significant impact upon the direction of Spanish music industry, providing strong competition to its main rivals, Odeon and the Compañía del Gramófono. Despite the label's relatively short existence between 1924 and 1936 it developed and sustained a substantial catalogue of music which provided a broad perspective on Spanish musical life during this period, including exponents of the emerging classical guitar.[19] Regal grew from the enterprises of businessman Juan Inurrieta Ordozgoiti, who, in 1913, had established Casa Inurrieta in Donostia/ San Sebastián in the Basque region of Northern Spain. Like many of those who moved into the recording business at this time, Inurrieta was initially involved in the sale and manufacture of talking machines, talking machine parts and radio equipment. He also formed an alliance with the Sociedad Hispano-Americana (established 1917), an influential company in the Spanish music industry during this period, which became pivotal in the promotion and distribution of Regal discs on a national scale. In 1923 Inurrieta signed agreements with both the British arm of Columbia and its New York based American counterpart the Columbia Phonograph Co. Inc., enabling him to market the discs now being produced in his newly established factory in Donostia under the Columbia name in association with his new Regal label. The Regal name was registered in 1924 and remained in existence until the company folded in 1936 following the merger of the Columbia and the Gramophone Company to form EMI in 1931 (Salsidua 2013). Nonetheless, during this relatively short period of its association with Columbia, the Regal label accumulated a substantial catalogue of recordings of music in many genres. On the one hand it issued many discs from the existing Columbia catalogue including Anglo-American jazz and dance band music, on other it also pursued its own Spanish music catalogue as means of distinguishing its musical output from its British-American partner. This included recordings of typical popular Spanish musical forms such as zarzuelas and flamenco, but also the accumulation of a roster of outstanding Spanish classical musicians, including the cellists Gaspar Cassadó and Antonio Sala, the violinists Frances Costa and José Carlos Sedano, the pianist Ricardo Viñes, and numerous acclaimed orchestral ensembles such as the Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid and the Orquesta Bética de Cámara de Sevilla.

Regal's association with Columbia also meant that it was able to immediately benefit from the latest developments in electrical recording technology that the latter company had acquired the rights to in 1924. Columbia, along with Victor had been among the first American recording companies to make an impact with commercially available electrical recordings and had quickly accepted the new process fully into its practice from 1925 onwards (Gelatt 1977).[20] To distinguish its new electrically recorded discs, Columbia used the phrase "Viva-tonal" ("living tone") which came to signify its mark of quality for electrical recording process and implied fidelity to the sound of the music being captured. Regal recordings were marketed in Spain using the " Viva-tonal" logo from around 1926, alongside existing advertising that attested to the noise-free quality of its record surfaces ("unicos discos electricos sin ruido"). It is quite possible that it was Regal's association with the new electrical recording process and improved quality of recorded sound that persuaded Spanish classical guitarists to begin to record for the label from the late 1920s onwards.

The *Catálogo General de Discos "Regal"* for June 1930 indicates the extent of Regal's recording activity by this time, listing a number of notable Spanish and Latin American guitarists. Among the more prolific is Juan Parras del Moral (c.1890–1973), a largely self-taught guitarist who was closely linked to the Tárrega/Llobet circle of guitarists in Barcelona as well as being noted for his association with Segovia (Herrera 2011). Parras del Moral recorded a total of five 78 rpm discs for Regal sometime in the mid-late 1920s which were issued on the "violeta" (violet) label. The repertoire chosen is firmly situated within the Tárrega tradition, comprising the well-known Tárrega works, *Capricho Arabe* and *Recuerdos de la Alhambra* as well as arrangements of music by Albéniz – (*Asturias* and *Granada*), a "Danza Española" by Enrique Granados (perhaps No. 5) and Malats' *Serenata Española*. Interestingly Parras del Moral's recording of Albéniz's *Asturias* (RS 5023), which is here entitled simply *Preludio Español*, is broken across both sides of the disc to accommodate its greater length – a typical example of the compromise that had to be reached when recording longer works at this time. Parras del Moral's *Preludio Español* may also be the earliest recording of a solo guitar arrangement of this particular Albéniz work (Altamira 2017: 387) and certainly the only one cut to a 78 rpm disc. Parras del Moral is also notable, along with Segovia, for being among the first to record a guitar work by Federico Moreno Torroba (1891–1982) – his *Fandanguillo* (presumably from the 1926 *Suite Castellana*) – which is on RS 5012. A recognized composer in his own right, Parras del Moral also included one of his own pieces, *Motivos Españoles*, on the same disc.

Another artist of interest recorded by Regal on the "negra" (black) label during this period was Víctor Doreste (1902–1966), a native of the Canary Islands (Doreste 2006). His recordings are of particular interest for their focus on guitar duet performance, in partnership with fellow Canarian guitarist Ignacio Rodriguez (1894–1972). The first of Doreste's three discs (DK 8004) contains arrangements for two guitars of *Capricho Arabe* and Albéniz's *Sevilla* (again indicating an allegiance to the Tárrega school), the second (RS 1499) a set of variations on the famous *Canarios* dance theme. Doreste's third and final disc (D 8187) offers duet arrangements of a Minuetto from Mozart's Don Juan and the slow movement of Beethoven's Symphony No. 7. The anomaly in the Regal guitar catalogue is the Basque guitarist Anselmo Ojembarrena (dates unknown), who recorded at least three "negra" discs for the label prior to 1930. These are all focused on Ojembarrena's own compositions which adopt popular Spanish dance forms such as the *pasodoble*, as can be heard in *Vicente Barrera* (RS 566) and *Recuerdos de Burdeos* (RS 658), and flamenco forms such as the Bulerías, Soleares and Guajiras.[21] In addition to acting as vehicle for the recording of local Spanish musicians Regal also published the recordings of two important Latin American guitarists made by Columbia in New York between 1926 and 1928, whose individual contributions will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. These were Guillermo Gómez (1880–1953), a Spanish-born guitarist who emigrated to Mexico in 1900, and the Mexican-born guitarist, Francisco Salinas (1892–1993).

The most important classical guitarist to record for the Regal label during the 1930s was Daniel Fortea (1878–1953). Fortea was a highly influential figure on the Spanish guitar scene during the first half of the twentieth century and recognized in his day as an outstanding performer and a prolific composer of note. He also founded a publishing company, Biblioteca Musical, later known as the Biblioteca Fortea, which contributed significantly to the guitar repertoire (Bone 1972; Altamira 2017). Like the recordings of Llobet discussed above, Fortea's are of particular interest because he was a direct disciple of Tárrega, with whom he was associated from the 1890s until the latter's death in 1909. He recorded three double-sided discs for Regal between approximately 1932 and 1936, two of which have in recent years resurfaced and have been subsequently digitized for the Doremi *Segovia and His Contemporaries* project (Volume 12). In terms of the repertoire choice these discs serve both to proselytize on behalf of the Tárrega lineage and to publicize Fortea's own compositions. The first (DK-8569) features Tárrega's ubiquitous *Capricho Arabe* backed by Fortea's *Elegía (a la memoria de mi maestro Tárrega)*. The latter is a composition in three sections which is of interest principally for its employment of harmonics. For his second disc (DK-8578) Fortea recorded an original piece in a dance style, *Muñecos de carton* ("cardboard dolls"), alongside Granados's Spanish Dance No. 5. In terms of their sound, both discs highlight the benefits accrued to classical guitar recording by the Columbia electrical process, which permits the dynamic nuances of the instrument and its timbral subtleties to be captured very effectively. For example, the octave harmonics of the last section of Fortea's *Elegía a Tárrega* are heard very clearly and with a full tone.[22] Fortea's third and final disc for Regal (DK-8940), recorded around 1935, is yet to reappear – *Biblioteca Fortea, Revista Musical* (1935) indicates that it contains Tárrega's *Canción de Cuna* and Fortea's *Maruxiña y la Viudita*.[23] Although Regal's recordings of classical guitar music ultimately constituted a relatively small fraction of the label's total output, it managed nonetheless to document the sounds and performance styles of a number of significant artists of the period. Regal can thus be considered one of the most important contributors to the early recorded legacy of Spanish classical guitar music.

OTHER SIGNIFICANT RECORDINGS MADE BY SPANISH GUITARISTS DURING THE 1920S AND 1930S

In addition to the Llobet Parlophon/Odeon discs and the varied output of the Columbia/Regal catalogue, it is important to acknowledge the recordings of several other key Spanish classical guitarists active during this period. In 1929 Miguel Ángel Martinez (b.1899), a pupil of Daniel Fortea, recorded a double-sided disc (B25430) for the Barcelona Parlophon "azul" (blue) label. Ángel was by all accounts a renowned concert artist who also performed in live radio broadcasts during the 1930s (Altamira 2017). As might be expected given Ángel's musical lineage, this recording contains two works by Tárrega, his *Danza Mora* and the *Gran Jota*.[24] In the late 1920s, the Compañía del Gramófono issued three recordings (AE 2779, AE 2786, and AE 2796) of the guitarist Alfredo Romea (1883–1955). Based in Barcelona, Romea worked as a journalist and guitar musicologist, becoming recognized in particular for his expertise in the works of Fernando Sor (Mangado 1998; Altamira 2017). He is also known to have premiered a number of contemporary works by Spanish composers during his career, but unlike Segovia, did not commit any of these to record. Romea's recordings are listed in the *Catálogo General*

de Discos marca "La Voz de su Amo" for July 1930 and appear alongside the earliest discs made by Segovia for the company's British branch in London (discussed in Chapter 3). His recordings are of interest because, in addition to their inclusion of the obligatory Tárrega work (in this case his *Pavana*), they also embrace a wider range of music by historical guitar composers such as Fernando Sor (an unspecified Estudio and a Marcha), Napoleon Coste (a work referred to as "Bolero"), Julián Arcas (his *Jota Aragonesa*). Of particular interest are his recordings of two pieces of earlier music by French Baroque guitarist Robert de Visée (Minuet-Danza), which reflect the influence of the early music revival spearheaded in Spain by Emilio Pujol. In 1932 the Compañía del Gramófono also made recordings of Bartolome Calatayud (1882–1973), another Tárrega pupil hailing from the island of Mallorca. The disc in question, AE 3898 (heard on Doremi Vol. 12), is unique for its focus on Calatayud's own compositions rather than typical guitar repertoire being recorded by his contemporaries.[25] The recordings of Romea and Calatayud, and indeed, aforementioned artists such as Borrull and Hernández, thus indicate the Segovia was not the only solo guitarist who was of interest to the Gramophone Company at this time.

In addition to the Llobet/Anido discs the German Odeon label made recordings of two other important Spanish classical guitarists during this period. Regino Sainz de la Maza (1897–1981), was the most significant of the second generation of Spanish guitarists in the lineage of the Tárrega school. He studied with Tárrega disciples Luis Soria, Hilarión Leloup (1876–1939) and Daniel Fortea and was also profoundly influenced by Miguel Llobet (Mairants 1967; Altamira 2017). Sainz de la Maza made several recordings for Odeon while on tour in Brazil in June 1929 (Antunes 2002), and these were issued in the mid-price "morado" series. Like many of his compatriots their content strongly foregrounds the Tárrega repertoire position. Odeon disc 203.149, for example, contains a Scherzo-Gavota (the one named "Maria") by Tárrega and the Bourrée from Bach's Violin Partita No.1, while 203.142 contains two Tárrega works, one entitled Evocación (which is actually Tárrega's tremolo study, *Recuerdos de la Alhambra*) and the other entitled Reverie (which is actually the well-known Tárrega showpiece, *Sueño*). Two other discs (203.229 and 203.246), Mazurca (the one named "Marieta") by Tárrega and a *Reverie* attributed to Bach. Of particular interest is the inclusion of two original compositions by Sainz de la Maza, *El Vito* and *Andaluza*,[26] both of which were published in sheet music form by Unión Musical Española.[27] Sainz de la Maza was also an important early advocate of the music of Joaquín Rodrigo (Wade 2006), particularly his *Concierto de Aranjuez*, which he premiered on 9 November 1940 and recorded (with the Orquesta Nacional de España under Ataulfo Argenta) for Columbia in 1948.[28] As the most performed and recorded guitar concerto of the twentieth century, the *Concierto de Aranjuez* was pivotal in disseminating the "Spanish" image of the classical guitar to a wide global audience.

Another notable guitarist recorded by Odeon during this period was the Catalan Rosita Rodes (1906–1975). The 1931 *Catálogo General de Discos Odeon* lists two Rodes' discs released in the "verde" (green) series – disc 181.055 containing a Pavana by Sanz backed by an "Allegro brillante" by Coste (perhaps the same Coste work recorded by Llobet) and disc 181.056, featuring Tárrega's *Recuerdos de la Alhambra* backed by a Bach Courante. Rodes also recorded a disc for Columbia (S-36) of the Tárrega *Gran Jota de Concierto* which interestingly constituted Side B of a 10-inch 78 rpm disc whose A-side featured a performance by fellow Argentinian guitarist Lalyta Almiron (1914–1997) of another Tárrega work, the *Estudio Brillante de Alard*. This is an unusual example of two solo classical guitarists being issued together on a single 78 rpm disc.

It is also documented that Emilio Pujol (1886–1980) one of Tárrega's most accomplished students (and the author of his first biography) made a handful of recordings in London for the Gramophone Company in the early 1930s (Hernández Ramírez 2010). Pujol was well known to the London music scene at this time due to his associations with such groups as the Anglo Spanish Society (Riera 1974) and his recordings for the Gramophone Company illustrate his Spanish repertoire inclinations, featuring him in duet with his wife Matilde Cuervas performing transcriptions of Granados and de Falla. Pujol was also recognized for his pioneering researches into the earlier plucked string traditions of the Baroque guitar and vihuela (including the music of Sanz, Milan and de Visée) which he incorporated into the guitar recital program alongside the modern Spanish repertoire. In the mid-1930s these musicological inclinations came to the fore in his recordings for the French *Anthologie Sonore* series (c. 1935/1936), a unique scholarly project undertaken in collaboration with German musicologist Curt Sachs whose purpose was to document in sound ten centuries of musical history (Ginn 1935). One of the provisos was that recordings had to be made using period instruments, which Pujol duly fulfilled by commissioning a replica vihuela modeled after a museum-piece he had discovered. This instrument appears in his performances of Milan, Diego Pisador, Miguel de Fuenllana and Juan Vasquez on

volumes 17 (*Romances et villancicos espagnols du 16 siècle*) and 40 (*Musique instrumentale en Espagne au 16 siècle*). In effect Pujol initiated the first recordings concerned with historical guitar performance practice, pre-empting the later recording work of Julian Bream in field of Elizabethan music during the 1950s.

NOTES

1. Simões' collection, which has recently been acquired by Centro Cultural Sao Paulo, numbers around 8,500 recordings in total.
2. Many of these were first made available in a three-volume LP series by the small California-based El Maestro label (owned by Morris Mizrahi and Barrios scholar Rico Stover) in 1981 and 1982.
3. For example, those held by Belfer at Syracuse University or the University of California, Santa Barbara Library.
4. The Stroh violin was used in recordings from 1904 onwards, its most famous exponent being Charles d'Almaine. See, for example, his "Military Serenade" (Victor V Monarch 2828).
5. For further discussion of the banjo's importance during the early recording era, particularly in the context of jazz, see Parsonage (2005).
6. See for example the 1909 recording "Gavotte Caprice" (Edison Amberol 152).
7. See Spottswood (1996) for an informative general survey of early recorded guitar music.
8. A double-sided disc recorded for the Pathé Actuelle (020974) label in July 1922.
9. For an excellent overview of early Spanish music industry and cylinder recording activity, see Montejano (2005).
10. As listed in the *Catálogo General de Discos marca "La Voz de su Amo"* for January 1929.
11. A digitized version of the Hernández recording can be heard on the compilation album, *5 Guitarras Historicas* (Pasarela 2014).
12. The uncle of the renowned flamenco guitarist, Carlos Montoya.
13. Indeed Yepes was regarded as the music's author for a number of years.
14. See, for example, Luis y Simon Ramirez, "Mazurca. genio y figura" (c. 1900), http://www.library.ucsb.edu/OBJID/Cylinder10313
15. The text is Jones' translation of a passage from Pujol's article "La Guitare" in Part 2 of Lavignac's *Encyclopédie de la Musique et Dictionnaire du Conservatoire* (1925), p. 2015.
16. Llobet's 78 rpm discs were first issued as a remastered 33 rpm compilation, *Miguel Llobet*, on Richard Stover's El Maestro label (Winnetka, CA) in 1982.
17. The *tornavoz*, meaning "turned voice", was a cylindrical metal tube placed in Torres guitars to enhance reverberation and sustain.
18. Llobet's pupil Rey de la Torre was particularly forthright in his refuting of these claims by Segovia, which were also paraphrased by Wade in *Traditions of the Classical Guitar* (1980: 151).
19. My discussions of Regal in this section are indebted in particular to the researches of Mikel Bilbao Salsidua (2013).
20. Namely the famous recording of "Adeste Fideles" (50013-D), apparently a recording of a 4850 strong choir made at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York.
21. It is also interesting to note that Ojembarrena apparently undertook a trial recording for Victor in 1916, which remains unpublished. See the UCSB archive for further details: https://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/talent/detail/16161/Ojembarrena_Anselmo_de_instrumentalist_guitar
22. The time constraints of the 78 rpm format are evident however in what appears to be a rather quick tempo for the mournful *Elegia* (in later modern recordings guitarists typically spread out into the time).
23. Fortea's music has been the subject of several recordings in recent years by performers such as David Malmberg, Manuel Babiloni and Agustín Maruri.
24. This recording is listed in the *Catálogo resumen de Parlophon: los mejores discos, agosto de 1929* (p. 6).
25. Catalayud released a number of recordings later in his career on the Columbia, Belter and Impacto labels.
26. The dates given for these discs by the Doremi reissues in Vol. 9 (between 1935 and 1947) are therefore incorrect.
27. Both discs are listed in the 1931 *Catálogo General de Discos Odeon*.
28. Sainz de la Maza re-recorded the *Concierto de Aranjuez* many years later on RCA VICS 1322.